No Objection to Declassification in Part 2010/11/29 : LOC-HAK-12-5-45-3

DOS Review Completed.

UNCLASSIFIED

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FM ATHENS
TO THE WHITE HOUSE
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S E C R E T SENSITIVE

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FM AMBASSADOR TASCA ATHENS 067
TO MR. HENRY KISSINGER, THE WHITE HOUSE
SUBJECT: FURTHER ANALYSIS O F LOWENSTEIN AND MOOSE INQUIRY
REFERENCE: ATHENS 063

1. ON FEBRUARY 11, 1971 I SUBMITTED AT YOUR REQU EST A POST MORTEM OF THE LOWENSTEIN AND MOOSE VISIT. NOW THAT I HAVE SEEN THEIR PUBLISHED REPORT, I WOULD LIKE TO ADD A FEW MORE OBSERVATIONS.

2. NOTWITHSTANDING AN OBVIO US AND UNDERLYING DESIRE TO WRITE A NEGATIVE REPORT ON OUR POLICY TOWARD GREECE, LOWENSTEIN AND MOOSE HAVE BEEN FORCED TO ACKNOWLEDGE CERTAIN FACTS WHICH HOPE-FULLY MAY UNDERMINE THE POSITION OF SOME OF THOSE IN CONGRESS WHO OPPOSE MILITARY ASSISTANCE TO GREECE.

3. THE TEXT OF THE REPORT WAS IMMEDIATELY CARRIED IN GREEK IN THE LOCAL PRESS. AND ALTHOUGH THE REPORT CONTAINED THE EXPECTED CRITICISM OF ME AND MY STAFF, A GREAT DEAL OF THE FACTUAL INFORMATION IN THE REPORT DOES IN THE MAIN SUPPORT OUR PRESENT POLICY IN GREECE. SPECIFICALLY, THE REPORT;

A. RE-AFFIRMS THAT THE SERIOUS OPPOSITION POLITICIANS IN

ON-FILE NSC RELEASE INSTRUCTIONS APPLY

G REECE FAVOR MILITARY AID TO GREECE.

B. PRESENTS THE GREEK GOVERNMENT'S SUPPORT OF NATO AND THE U.S. IN THE MIDDLE EAST IN A POSITIVE FASHION.

C. BRIEFLY NOTES GREECE'S TURBULENT POLITICAL PAST OF 42 CHANGES OF GOVERNMENT SINCE WORLD WAR II, AS WELL AS THE COUPS, ATTEMPTED COUPS, DICTATORSHIPS, DEMOCRACIES WITH AND WITHOUT A KING AND CIVIL WAR SINCE WORLD WAR I.

D. AVOIDS [redacted] OF THOSE BIZARRE TORTURE STORIES WHICH THE PRESS HAS LOVED TO "EXPOSE", AND DEALS WITH THE ISSUES O F DETENTION OF COMMUNISTS, THE RESISTANCE ORGANIZATIONS, ARRESTS FOR ACTS TO OVERTHROW THE REGIME, ALL IN A FACTUAL MANNER, THOUGH, OF COURSE, FROM A CRITICAL POINT OF VIEW. RATE OF ECONOMIC GROWTH, A LOW RATE OF INCREASE OF CONSUMER PRICES, AND ALL WITH INFLATIONARY FORCES AND TRADE DEFICIT PROBLEMS DESCRIBED IN TERMS WHICH MAKE THEM APPEAR MANAGEABLE.

E. DISCUSSES ISSUES SUCH AS POPULAR SUPPORT OF THE REGIME, FREEDOM OF PRESS AND INNER-REGIME POLITICS IN A WAY WHICH THOUGH CRITICAL OF THE REGIME IS MORE ACCURATE AND LESS BIASED THAN WHAT WE HAVE BEEN ACCUSTOMED TO READ IN LEADING AMERICAN NEWSPAPERS. FOR EXAMPLE, THEY POINT OUT THAT

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THERE ARE NO RESTRICTIONS ON THE SALE OF FOREIGN NEWSPAPERS AND PERIO DICALS AND THAT THE GREEK PRESS FREELY REPRINTS DOCUMENTS OF FOREIGN GOVERNMENTS. THEY MIGHT HAVE ADDED THAT CRITICAL COMMENTARIES ON GREECE FROM THE WESTERN FOREIGN PRESS ARE ALSO FREELY REPRINTED.

4. RATHER SIGNIFICANTLY THE REPORT OMITS ANY MENTION OF THE KING. ALSO SIGNIFICANTLY THE WASHINGTON POST IN ITS MARCH 13 EDITORIAL NOT ONLY OMITS THE ABOVE POINTS BUT RESURRECTS THE CANARD THAT "DESPITE JUNT A PROMISES TO THE CONTRARY, ELECTIONS HAVE NOT BEEN SCHEDULED." ON THIS POINT THE REPORT IS EXPLICIT IN SAYING THAT EVEN MR. PIPINELLIS IN HIS TIMETABLE "REFUSED TO FIX A DATE FOR ELECTION."

5. OF COURSE THE GREEKS DO FIND QUITE INEXPLICABLE THE CONCEPT OF A LEGISLATIVE INQUIRY INTO THEIR DOMESTIC AFFAIRS AND THE WORKINGS OF OUR EMBASSY-ALL FOLLOWED BY A PUBLISHED REPORT REPEAT PUBLISHED REPORT. AT BEST, THEY REGRET THIS AWKWARD AND UNDIGNIFIED BEHAVIOR ON THE PART OF A MAJOR ALLY. HOWEVER, PUTTING THAT ASIDE, WE BELIEVE THAT THE PUBLISHED REPORT DOES OFFER THE ADMINISTRATION AN OPPORTUNITY FOR A POLITICAL BREAKTHROUGH OF STRATEGIC PROPORTIONS, BOTH AT HOME AND AMONG OUR NATO ALLIES. IT SHOULD BE POSSIBLE TO EXPLO IT THIS REPORT WITH TELLING EFFECT AMONG THOSE WHO MIGHT REGARD AS MERELY SELF-SERVING A SIMILAR REPORT FROM THE EMBASSY OR DEPARTMENT.

6. THE REPORT WAS WRITTEN WITHIN A FRAMEWORK OF DECIDED OPPOSITION TO THE GREEK REGIME. BUT IN VIEW OF THE COMPOSITION OF THE SENATE FOREIGN RELATIONS COMMITTEE, AS LOWENSTEIN AND MOOSE ACKNOWLEDGED TO US HERE, THEY HAD PERFORCE TO INCLUDE MANY FACTS RELATING TO THE GREEK SIDE OF THE PROBLEM. AND SO, DESPITE THE NARROWNESS OF THE CONTACTS LOWENSTEIN AND MOOSE ARRANGED IN GREECE AND THE POLITICAL PURPOSE BEHIND THEIR MISSION, THE FACTS WHICH THEY HAVE PRESENTED DO NOT SUPPORT [redacted] CONVINCING EVIDENCE THEIR SWEEPING CRITICAL CONCLUSIONS REGARDING OUR POLICY TOWARD GREECE OR THE TACTICS OF THE EMBASSY. IN ASSEMBLING THEIR FACTS THEY CLEARLY WERE INFLUENCED BY THE EFFECTIVE TEAMWORK OF THE VARIOUS SECTIONS OF THE EMBASSY IN CONFRONTING THEIR QUESTIONS.

7. ON THE OTHER HAND THE GREEK EXILES HAVE CONTINUED TO TRY TO MANIPULATE THE EPISODE TO THEIR OWN ADVANTAGE. THE RECENT EDITORI ALS IN THE NEW YORK TIMES AND WASHINGTON POST COMPLETE THE SCENARIO WHICH WE HAD PREDICTED DURING THE DISCUSSION IN OUR EARLIER TELEGRAM O F ELIAS DEMETRACOPOULOS.

8. ON BALANCE, HOWEVER, THE REPORT TOGETHER WITH SECRETARY

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ROGERS' TV STATEMENT THAT "ALTHOUGH WE WOULD LIKE TO HAVE OTHER PEOPLE HAVE REPRESENTATIVE GOVERNMENT, DEMOCRATI C PROCESSES, AS WE DO, WE CAN'T IMPOSE OUR WILL ON THEM," MAY PROVIDE AN OPPORTUNITY FOR US TO LAUNCH THE KIND OF ACTIVE DEFENSE OF OUR POLICY WHICH I ADVOCATED IN MY LAST MESSAGE. THIS WILL REQUIRE WORK AS MUCH OF THE PRESS WILL CONTINUE TO SELECT FROM THE REPORT ONLY WHAT SUITS THEIR OWN PURPO SES. BUT OUR OPPOSITION NEED NOT HAVE THE LAST WORD, AND ALTHOUGH I NATURALLY RESENT THE DISTORTIONS IN THE PICTURE PRESENTED BY THE REPORT OF THE EMBASSY'S POSTURE, I FEEL MORE THAN COMPENSATED BY WHAT SEEMS TO BE A FAR BETTER RESULT THAN WE MIGHT HAVE EXPECTED FROM THIS INCURSION INTO GREECE BY THE SENATE'S OWN LITTLE DIPLOMATIC SERVICE.

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